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A N
IMPARTIAL REVIEW
OF THE
OPPOSITION;
AND THE
CONDUCT
OF THE
LATE MINISTER
SINCE HIS
SECESSION.

WITH
AN ENQUIRY whether BRITAIN is likely
to be *better* for the *Change of the Ministry*,
and in what Manner.

What are the Expectations of the People
there-from, and how far they have been *already*,
or may be *hereafter* answer'd.

The deplorable Situation of TRADE at present; a
true State of the NATIONAL DEBT, as attested
from the *Exchequer*, and some Remarks thereupon.
And whether, upon the Whole, LIBERTY or SLA-
VERY prevails *most* in the Publick Scale.

In a LETTER from a West-Country Clothier to his
Representative, one of the TWENTY ONE.

D U B L I N :

Re-printed by and for GEORGE FAULKNER,
MDCCXLII.

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A N

IMPARTIAL REVIEW.

S I R,

THE high additional Honour conferred on you, in selecting you from the rest of our Representatives, to be one of the *chosen Few*, who are to enquire into the Conduct and Miscarriages of our Ministry for some Years past, induces me, as one of your Constituents, to address you on that joyful Occasion; and to lay before you, the Hardships we labour under, and what Expectations of Redress we have formed to ourselves from the Assistance of you, and the rest of the Honourable Gentlemen of the Committee, Expectations of rising to *Liberty* from the Brink of a dreadful Precipice of *Slavery, Poverty, and Destruction*: You have long heard our Complaints, and lately received our public general Instructions for your future Conduct, and the several Evils that call for an immediate Redress: But as some Things, of a more particular Nature, are only hinted therein, by Reason of the narrow Compass we were confined to, give me leave freely to expatiate thereon, and receive it as every Member, who loves his Country and Posterity, ought, from a Constituent who speaks the Sense of a Body of People, who have entrusted their Lives, Liberties and Properties with a Gentleman, whom, after the strictest Scrutiny, they have adopted for that Purpose: Think not it is an idle or trifling Task you have undertaken; that your not joining the *bad* will excuse you, or the barely

not assenting to *wrong* Measures, will discharge the important Trust reposed in you: Do not imagine that we esteem bare passive Honesty as a Virtue sufficient: No, Sir, an active, industrious Prosecution of all just and laudable Means, that may contribute to unravel a long Concatenation of Iniquities, is what we demand at your Hands. The Welfare of Millions, yet unborn, depend upon your steady Inflexibility, and vigorous Research after Truth; nor are you to stop there; that Truth once discovered, as it is too evident we have been long and heavily oppress'd, tho' the proper Expedients and Proofs may be wanting to fix it immediately on the right Person. It is your Duty, and your Honour and Faith to Heaven and Mankind, are staked to point the Accusation where 'tis justly due, and give an injur'd, bleeding Nation, Vengeance on its Oppressor: Let not Titles varnish Guilt, Power intimidate you, or Affection stem the Current of your Enquiry. However dignified the Plunderer is, if you spare him, thro' Awe of his Superiority, 'twill brand your Name to late Posterity with Pusillanimity and Cowardice; if thro' a mistaken Tendernefs to his Person, it will sink you to a State that will no longer intitle you to be called a *Man*, but herd with Brutes, and lick the Dust from off your Tyrant's Feet, who, in Return, ought to be, as he doubtless will, the first to kick you for your servile Fawning.

I don't question, Sir, that you will be very much surpris'd to see a Man at my Time of Day, and in my Circumstances, appear in Print; but, Sir, those very Circumstances are the Reason of it; the late Discouragement of Trade in General, and our Woollen Manufactures in particular, have suffered during the late Ministry, would, one would think, force even the Stocks and Stones of *Great Britain* to speak. I see the most flourishing Part of our Trade decay,

decay, the Staple Commodity; the very Vitals of *England*, flung into a galloping Consumption by our State Emprick, and shall not the Patient complain? When a Man has given me Poison, must I bow down and kiss his Hand, if he sneeringly offers to feel my Pulse? No, Sir, Loosers will have Leave to speak; and that's the Case with me. Pardon then the abrupt Bluntness of my Stile; I speak more from my Heart than my Head; and that Heart, whose warm Affection for its Country inclined me to chuse you Member, ought only to complain to you, and tell you all its Fears and Doubts, its Wishes and Expectations. Besides, Sir, to deal ingenuously with you, I have another Motive, (which I hope will plead my Excuse for commencing Author, as it is very often the only Reason some of the Brethren of the Quill can give that is, in plain downright honest Truth, *I have nothing else to do.* My last Order from the Factors, like many of my Neighbours, was so triflingly small, and at the same Time back'd with Assurances, that even that very little one would not be repeated in a Hurry, that I was obliged, tho' with the utmost Regret, to discharge most of my unnecessary Workmen, some of whom I have constantly employ'd for above *Twenty Years* past; but, alas! those *Twenty Years*, unless speedy Remedies are applied, have prevented our having any Occasion for them for the future. I have nothing now to do but to smoke my Pipe, walk about and see my Looms and Materials decay daily, and my Tenter Grounds run to Ruin; or talk over our joint Misfortunes with some honest Neighbours in the same Situation, where we canvass the Validity of every Report, and lend an attentive Ear to the Proceedings of our Representatives and Superiors; and sometimes, indeed (tho' I hope we are never the worse Christians for it,) we

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can't help stealing out a Curse or Two on the Authors of our Miseries. And here I can't help thinking Sir R. W. has been a little mistaken in his Political Scheme of humbling the *Pride* of the *Nation*, by reducing the *honest Industrious*, and such as may be rank'd with those whom he was pleas'd to stile *Sturdy Beggars*; since, if he had not endeavour'd totally to destroy *Trade*, which it seems his *high* and *noble* Soul took a particular Pique against; I say, if he could but have been content to have left us a little Remnant of Business, just to have kept us employ'd, and free from Idleness, it might have prevented our Enquiry into many Misconducts which are now obvious to us. Then another Thing; he, by his *Proxies, Excisemen, Licensers of Hawkers, &c. &c. &c.* was daily giving us the *Lye* by his *Gazetteers*, thrust into our Hands, telling us how rich, affluent and potent we were; when, at the same Time that we read, our uncloath'd Backs shiver'd with Cold, and our Minds with Horror at his Assurance; and our Stomachs, tho' growling with Hunger, could not feed on his *Chameleon Diet*. Will a Man (whom half a Score Salivations have rendered so feeble that he can scarce cross his Chamber) thank his Companion for praising his hale, jolly Looks, his strong Sinews, and robust Body? Yet this has been the Case with the present E—— of O——d, and the *British Constitution*: He, like some young Surgeons of the Town, first gave her *the Disease*, and then, after tampering a long Time, and trying Experiments upon her, he has at last left her in such a languishing Condition, that if you and the rest of the *regular College* do not apply some extraordinary Specificks to her, she must e'en dye in the *Lock* at last.

You may, perhaps, Sir, think these Conceits too trivial and full of Levity for the melancholy Scene
his

his *Rapine* and *Chicanery* have occasion'd (I chuse to give it those Terms, since in thinking him a *bad* Man, rather than a *weak* one, I pay a Compliment to a Foible all Mankind are particularly fond of, who prefer the Disreputation of *Knavery* to *Folly*) I say, Sir, you'll imagine I am too ludicrous; but I hope you'll give some Allowances for our Spirits being elated at the Prospect they entertain of shortly having no more Occasion to be depressed. You best know whether we have any substantial Ground for such Hopes: For, fluctuated as we are, between Expectancy and Resignation, we sometimes scarcely can describe our real Thoughts, or form any true Judgment of your Proceedings: One Post comes to us full of the most sanguine Hopes of *Liberty* and *Redress*; then the next is clouded with Doubts and Difficulties, filling us with fresh Consternation, and leaving us more in the Dark than before. The public Papers, even the very *Gazette* (enlarged by Numbers of Bankrupts, occasioned by the Decay of Trade, thro' his Mal-administration) brings an Account of the Creation of an E—— of O———d, with a long Harangue of Titles and Honours conferr'd. The poor Wretches who accompany Him on the other deplorable Account, seem *sunk* as *Piles* at your *new Bridge*, to erect the Base of his superficial Grandeur: This is the first we gather from the public Accounts, while our Letters from private Correspondents are as contradictory as can be, and give us not only a just Account, but a true Idea, of the Uncertainty the Publick is in on this important Conjunction.

Amidst this Cloud of Opinions and Diversity of Informations, what just Conclusions can we draw? Permit, me, therefore, Sir, to lay before you the Facts as they appear to me, and my Apprehensions thereupon; you who are in the Heat of Action, may possibly

possibly slip some Things that may occur to me, and in others I may want Information, which I shall naturally apply to you for : And consider, Sir, although we have vested our Rights and Privileges in you, yet 'tis with this View, that from you we expect an Account and Protection thereof.

To begin then, Sir, I believe I may venture to say, that this Session of Parliament has been, and is likely to be, productive of as many remarkable Events as any *British* Parliament these two hundred Years (when I say this, I would not have any one rashly imagine, that I mean or give the least Hint at the Proceedings of *Oliver's Mob*, miscalled a Parliament. In my Mind they could be looked upon as no such Assembly, or if by some Persons they are, I can by no means approve of their Measures. No, Sir, a Parliamentary Enquiry may search to the Bottom without striking Terror, unless to the Guilty, and may be *just* without *Cruelty* or *Bloodshed*.) We, at the Election of this Parliament, may be said to have lived at the Crisis which is universally agreed to be the last Cast for *English* Liberty ; Heaven send we may husband it well ! Tho' the Struggle between *Freedom*, and the servile Spirit of *Corruption*, was infamous, and what must needs fill the Breast of every Lover of his Country with the highest Indignation, yet now we have somewhat weather'd the Storm, and tho' not quite safe in Port, can look about us a little. It is no unpleasant Reflection to look back to what poor Subterfuges both the *Corruptor* and *Corrupted* were drove ; how reluctantly they quitted the strong Holds they had clandestinely usurp'd, how the Hireling was, thro' the Dread of Shame, oblig'd to forego his long-gap'd for *Bribe*. with the greatest inward Regret, yet outwardly with the visibly forc'd Affectation of a Triumph over Iniquity.

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When I review the dreadful *Hydra* you had to encounter, I stand amaz'd at the Success you have already met with ; but when I call to mind, that we steadily and in despite of Opposition, or the too prevailing Influence of Power, elected Patriots from whom we had long experienced the same Adherence to *Truth* and *Justice*, we could expect no less than you have already done, and in a firm Belief of your Perseverance, we promise ourselves much greater Benefits.

It would, methinks, almost drive a Man mad to consider this Nation about three or four and thirty Years ago, and at the Conclusion of the last tame, peaceable, and good-natur'd Parliament ; good Heav'n ! what a Difference ! How *bright*, *fear'd* and *courted* was *Britain* at the first, and how *clouded*, *scorn'd* and *despis'd* at the last. I am a Friend and Admirer of the *Revolution*, Sir ; and tho' I, from my Heart, abhor the odious Party Distinctions of *Whig* and *Tory* (which I began to think were entirely abolish'd, had they not been lately scandalously dragg'd into Light again, as I shall more fully observe presently) yet my Principles and Behaviour have been all along such, that the Generality of my Countrymen concluded me a *Whig* ; that is, we like the present happy Establishment, and would rather live *easy*, *free* and *happy*, under this present Government, than any other ; *but* at the same time we would not willingly be made *Slaves*, *Beggars* or *Wretches* by any. This then being premised, our Loyalty is out of Doubt ; but if an *evil* and *designing Minister* shall abuse Royal Goodness and Lenity, must it be deem'd High Treason to complain ? Shall the suffering Subject, who speaks his Wrongs, and accuses his Oppressor, be represented as an Insulter of the Throne, and an Enemy to regal Authority ? Yet that this hath been the Case,

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Sir,

Sir, you need not be informed, nor shall I here enter into a Detail of the grievous Hardships we have endured these Twenty Years past; they are too shocking to be repeated, and too well known, and too deeply imprinted in our Memories to need it, besides, it is foreign to my Purpose; which is chiefly to inquire what has been done, and what is expected to be done, since the *Banner of Liberty* is publickly rais'd, and a *Majority* of Patriots have gloriously wav'd it o'er the falling *Ensigns of Corruption*? But as it is necessary barely to hint in what a deplorable Condition you found us, give me leave to do it with a View to our before-mention'd contrasted State, in a manner as concise as possible, by a Simile suitable to my own Occupation as a Trader.

Let us then compare *Britain* at the *Revolution* to a young *Merchant* coming into Business, on the small remaining Stock of his Ancestors; at first he behaves carefully and diligent, and all People seem fond to encourage a young Beginner; in his next Stage, by meeting with faithful Servants, he attains to his *Acme*, or Pitch; his Credit is establish'd, both at Home and Abroad, and his *Compting House* commands most of the Exchanges in *Europe*: But from hence he grows too much elated with his Success, and, sure of its Continuance, resigns himself to *Ease* and *Indolence*, entrusting his most important Affairs only to those who flatter his Foibles and indulge him in his licentious Pleasures; while he is supplied with Money for his Profusion, he cares for no more; every thing else runs to Ruin; his Tradesmen are unpaid, his Warehouses consequently not supply'd as they should be; his Credit fails him Abroad; his Draughts are return'd unpaid; and his Bills protested; and yet all the while the rascally Clerk, who occasioned all this, is telling him, that he is the *wealthiest* and most considerable

siderable Merchant upon the *Exchange*, 'till he is declared a *Bankrupt*; and then first finds out a Truth the World was acquainted with long before.

This, Sir, was the wretched Plight to which we were reduced: Our *grand Corruptor* has brought us all to the Brink of a Bankruptcy, when we laid our gasping Liberties at your Feet, and begg'd you to add *one* Struggle more to the *many* glorious ones you had made before; you have answered our Wishes so far: With what Joy did we hear the Confirmation of *his Honour's* Resolution to *quit the House and trouble it no more?* Your *Vigilance* and *Affiduity* are never enough to be commended; but Doubts and Fears will arise, and we have formerly had too many Proofs of the Instability of human Affairs, and the Irresolution of Men's Tempers, especially in Political Affairs, to be too credulous; Pardon, me, Sir; I would not by this be thought to suggest the least Diffidence of you, or any of the *glorious Band*; I hope they are all *steady* and *unbiaſſed*, and when I hear any Insinuations to the contrary, I would willingly receive them as the last Efforts of a desponding *Sett of Hirelings*, calculated only to foment Jealousies amongst us. Tho' really, Sir, it is the Opinion of us simple, plain Country Folks, that unless something had been done more than has been, we might have abated something of those *extraordinary Rejoycings* and *Bonefires* which were made on the Occasion; tho' the least Appearance of Redress, after so long, so infamous, a Series of *Oppression* and *Corruption*, will, in a great Measure, allow for it; not but they may bear a double Construction, and the *Friends* of the *Great Man*, if he has any, may join in them on his being *exalted* to the highest Honours of a Subject; as the *Lovers* of their Country may, on his being removed from an Assembly, where he has lost his *Influence*,
and

and can do no more *Mischief*: Tho', upon the Whole, I hope it will not prove like our Exultations for the taking of *Carthagena*, before the Work was a quarter compleated,

Well! after a *long unsuccessful Feint*, upon feeling the Pulse of Some, tempting the Eyes of Others, and even bringing over *One* or *Two*, by loading their Pockets, the *Premier* finding all his Artifices fail, and seeing no Hopes of *coming up to every Man's Price*, as he hath often been pleased to phrase it; at length, in a sort of a Pet, told ye *he would visit ye no more* — and really, compassionately speaking, it was not a little hard for a *worthy Man*, who, for several Sessions before, had nothing more to do than to sit in his Study, *draw up a Bill*, and (had he a Spaniel that could fetch and carry) send it to the *H—se* to be passed; I say, it must be very irksome to him to be brow-beat, and told of his Faults, even by a Parcel of *raw young Members*, whom he saw join the *Veterans*, and absolutely refuse to list in his Corps. — Nay, Sir, you should have a little consider'd his Infirmities, and not have kept him debating 'till *Four* or *Five* in the Morning: But all *Bagatelle* apart, it was a *glorious Stand*, and, as such, all Mankind must esteem it: But what have been the Consequences? Why he quits *One House* to be introduced into the *Other*, with Honours suitable to the greatest Actions and Merits of the best of Subjects; this being the Effect of Fondness for an old Servant, is too tender a Point for me to touch upon, nor do I want to impeach the ***** *Favourite*, but the *Nation's Foe*; if *he is Innocent*, where lies the *Guilt*? if he is *Guilty*, why is he *Honour'd*? But to proceed, he resigns his accumulated Posts and Places, a *Fortnight's Adjournment* was thought necessary to dispose of them, every Body *dreaded* the Effects of
that

that *Fortnight*; but, to the *immortal Honour* of his *Opposers* be it said, they withstood *all Temptations*, and the most sanguine *Countryman* could not wish to see a more equal, or honest Distribution of those Trusts, which had been before reposed in *him alone*; and as they were too powerful for any *one Subject*; were divided amongst those who were only capable of *deserving* them; thus, for a *few Days*, we saw every thing gliding on with a smooth Current, and the Rudder of the State committed to the Hands of the most able Pilots. It does not come within the Compass or Design of a Letter, to make Panegyrics on particular Persons; let it suffice that the Nation was very well pleased with the whole; but in the midst of our Rejoicings, and before the News could even have reached some of the remote Parts of the Kingdom, it was follow'd by an Alarm, that our *Great Enemy*, tho' he was withdrawn from *publick Influence* and *View*, yet still preserved as *great* a Power as *ever* in *Private*; that a *Nobleman*, who had all along distinguished himself by an extraordinary Zeal in forwarding the *great Work*, was no sooner reinstated in the Posts which best became him, then, upon some private Disgust, he surrender'd them again. The Conduct of this Gentleman, at that *particular Crisis*, fill'd us with the *utmost Dread* and *Confusion*. If, said We, he accepted those Posts with a firm Belief that the *Day of our Redemption* was at Hand, it must be upon a full Conviction that it was not so, which occasioned his Resignation; what then can we expect, but that the same malevolent Star, which has all along determined our Destinies, still continues its deadly Influence? He found the Struggle was vain, and therefore, declined it; but, on the other hand, what could we conceive of the others, who still continued their laudable Endeavours? Could
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we conceive that Men, who, in all Shapes, had so vigorously opposed *Corruption* and *undue Influence*, would, all at once, join to espouse it; no, common Reason denied it at all Events; this, therefore, was all we could conclude, if, thro' private Pique or Resentment, that Nobleman withdrew his Assistance, when it was wanting to compleat the glorious Plan, he forfeited the Character of *Patriot* at that very Time when he should have supported it most. However, this Consternation ceased upon seeing the same vigorous Measures pursu'd; the Progress of the Place-Bill quieted the Fears of the *Farmers* and *Landholders*, as the great Attention given to the Petition of the *Merchants* of *London*, in Behalf of the Trade, gave Hopes to us who are more nearly concerned in manufacturing our Wooll, and consequently in Commerce in general; if we had any remaining Doubts and Scruples, the Order for a Committee of Enquiry, hath entirely silenced them for the present; and now we have nothing to do, but to tell you our Expectations therefrom, and send our most ardent Prayers and Wishes for your Success to accompany you.

This, Sir, I take to be the *impartial* State of the Case on the Side of the *Country*. The Domestick Breaches of the *Royal Family* are healed by this happy Conjunction, and every *Englishman* wisheth nothing but the Interest of his King and Country united. Let us now turn our View to the Conduct of the *Corruptor*, since this memorable *Æra*, and examine his *partial Pleas* in Favour of himself and his Transactions.

It certainly must very much flatter and elevate the Spirits of an *Ambitious Man*, when he perceives, that he is of great Consequence in the World: It is owing to this *wrong* Notion of *Fame*, and the vain delusive Hopes of being talked of after they are dead,
that

that so many poor Wretches have ventured their Necks to have their Names (as *Shakespear* expresses it) *wrapt in vulgar Breath*. The Man who set fire to the *Temple of Ephesus*, openly declared, that he did it with this View: (tho', by the way, as the Accounts of those Times are very much blended with Fable and Fiction, I am inclined to take this in a mythologic Sense, and therefore look upon the Story of *Erostratus* as figuratively displaying a *wicked Minister*, who had nothing to make him remembered by Posterity, but ending his Rapine in a *Sacrilegious Blaze*: But the *Ephesians* were not altogether so good natur'd as the *English*, for we do not read that he was either allowed a Pension, or had any extraordinary Honours conferred on him for his Villany.

You will, perhaps, Sir, ask what is all this to the Purpose? what have we to do with *Ephesus*? Why really, Sir, in my poor Opinion, the Man who hath aggrieved a Nation for a considerable Time, and who finding they can no longer brook his Insults, resigns his Power; and then, because he is apprehensive a Scrutiny may be made into his Actions, endeavours to revive obsolete Feuds, and stir up intestine Comotions, that in the Uproar he may escape with Impunity, must be looked upon as an *Incendiary*: And he that will foment Differences, and stir up the Coals of Sedition in St. S ———'s Chappel, ought to be deemed as guilty and infamous as the Wretch who fir'd *Diana's Temple*. These Reflections naturally occurred to me, upon a Review of the *Corruptor's* Behaviour since his *Secession*. He resigns all his Posts, 'tis true, and those Posts are bestowed on Gentlemen who, by the general Voice, are allowed to be entire Enemies to *Dependancy* or *Corruption*, and consequently to his *Administration*. It puzzles one, at first, to think that a Person who was so remarkable for
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low Cunning and Chicane, should give up his Power into the Hands of his Enemies; but the Amazement vanishes, when we find, that he rests his Hopes on the partial Indulgence, and obstinate Fondness of a certain Person, whom he hath been artful enough to conceal his Faults from all along. 'Tis there we are to seek him, like the Devil at the Ear of *Eve* secretly whispering his pernicious Dictates, whilst all the Nation thinks him at a Distance off. 'Tis there we are very justly to imagine he is destroying all Vouchers and Proofs of his Guilt, in order to prevent or retard the Means of an *honest Enquiry*. And here, tho' I think the Country has Reason to be sorry for the Loss of so staunch a Friend as the D— of A——, yet I can't help vindicating his Resignation, since, what Man of Spirit can bear that his generous and honest Sentiments, should be canvass'd or condemn'd by a sneaking Trickster behind a Screen?

But to proceed——After he had, as we may reasonably suppose, endeavoured to wrest a *Promise of Favour*, in case Things should come to the Extremity he expected from an *injured* and a *plunder'd People*, it was given out, that he was retired to his *Country Palace* to pass his Time in a calm Retirement; but we were mistaken, Sir, he was otherwise employed, he thought it absolutely necessary for him, that the steady Union of the Patriots should be destroyed; their firm Conjunction in their Country's Cause he very well knew could bode him no Good; an Attempt therefore must be made at least to stir up Doubts between them; his *Gazetteer* Host had done trumpeting, and therefore he sounds to Battle himself; a specious Harangue comes out under the Title of a *Letter from a By stander to a Member of Parliament*; which, if 'tis not immediately his *own*, yet the

the Arguments and Stile are so much in his way, that it is evident it was done by *his Order*, and under his Inspection. Tho' I don't intend a formal Answer to this doughty Piece, yet as it is the only one that has appeared in his Behalf, I would endeavour, by some short Animadversions thereon, to set aside the artful Insinuations therein contained, and, by giving a just Analysis thereof, to shew its manifest *evil Tendency* at this Conjunction.

Whoever takes the most cursory View of the *By-stander*, may plainly perceive that his Design is not only to vindicate his own Conduct, but to *soften* an Enquiry, if he cannot *prevent* it; for this Purpose he makes his Attack on the different States of the Nation, and by alarming them with far-fetched Ills and fancied Dangers, he would divert their Thoughts from their proper Objects of Vengeance and a Retaliation for Mal-administration. The common People, the trading and monied Interest are directed to tremble at the Thoughts of *Foreign Invasions* and the *Fall of Stocks*: Both which he would have you imagine have been prevented by a numerous standing Army, so that consequently all Complaints on that Head are groundless. After thus endeavouring to prepossess the Commonalty in his Favour, he makes his Court to the *Crown* by the usual Method of Court Sycophants, that is, striving to make it jealous of the People's increasing Power, and its own Weakness, besides playing off his favourite Firework of a Pretender; he goes a Step further, and even tells them, that *Monarchy* is subsiding, and *Democracy* greatly prevailing: But as this will not answer his Purpose alone, his last grand Effort is to rouse the dreadful sleeping Monster of *Party*, and sow Dissention amongst those who are to enquire into his Conduct. The odious Appellations of *Whig* and *Tory* have been long banish'd, but it is his Interest to revive them; and if, by that Means, he can

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divide his Judges, he may greatly embarrass that Unity and Moderation which is so necessary in bringing Criminals to Justice, and searching out the Recesses of disguis'd Truth. This seems to be the main Drift of his Design, and after taking up an Account of Oppressions, in Reigns long since passed, which he places, *right or wrong*, to the Account of the *Tories*, he immediately owns himself a *Whig*, and makes it a Party Cause with them to screen Him. This Analysis is so obvious and plain, that it is needless to enlarge upon it; but his Reasonings to support it are in several Places very odd and particular; they will require some cursory Remarks.

In the first Place, therefore, after bringing it as a *great Plea for keeping up a large standing Army*, that our modern royal *Nymrods* are most of them grown *Hunters of Men* instead of *Beasts*, and more anxious in enlarging their *Pack of Military Blood hounds*, than a harmless Kennel of *Dogs*; he brings it home to *England*, and insists, that if they keep Armies on Foot to *fight*, it is equally necessary that we should keep them to be *review'd*; for, says he, *France* may invade us; *Spain* may join them; nay and *Sweden* too; the *Dutch* may stand still affrighted, and then *down with poor England at once*; your *great Fleets* of little or no Service, your *standing Army* alone prevents this Design: And then he points out the particular Places, where this Invasion is to be made from, so plain, that no *Englishman* is bound to him for the Favour, which is only evidently calculated to intimidate us, and which shews his usual Good-nature in assisting the *French* Schemes, at the Expence of the *Honour* of his *own Nation*: But, with all due Submission to this Gentleman's Understanding, I can't think our *Land Forces* so preferable to our *Navy*: For if it be so easy for *France* to land a *First Embarkation* here, consequently they might a *Second, Third, &c.* and were

were it once to come to that, our standing Military Force of 17,704 Men (which he allows it at) *great* and *oppressive* as it is to us, would be but a *small* Defence against 200,000 Men; which, by his Account, *France* might employ here, and keep above 100,000 at home. But our Happiness is, our *floating Castles* are not such *Cockboats* as he would make of them.

Next, Sir, as to *Reports* affecting our Stocks, I agree with him, that *false* ones oftentimes do it as much as *true* ones. No one will dispute this with *him*, who hath had so much Experience therein: I likewise own, that *publick Credit* is the *Pulse* of the Nation; a remarkable Instance of which we had in *his Honour's* withdrawing from the *Publick Service*, the *French* Actions fell upon the very first Bruit thereof, whilst our own kept the same even Temper without any Alteration, unless the Emperor's Loan, which before bore *no* Price, and now bears a *little*. As to his other Insinuations in Behalf of a *standing Army*, they have been the Topic of many Debates, and have been so fully exploded by Gentlemen who have opposed them in the *Grand Assembly* of the Nation, that it would be both needless and presumptuous in me to undertake a fresh Confutation of them here.

Well! but if this fails, implies he, I have another Recourse, that is, the old standing Dispute between *the Crown* and the *People*, alike jealous of each other's Increasing Power; I shall get but little by throwing myself into the Arms of the People, therefore at all Events, I must aver, that they are growing *Arbitrary*, and the Regal Interest decreasing; in short, that unless I am suffered to go Scot-free with my Plunder, it is an Insult upon his *M——ty*, whose Sovereign Authority is in Danger; and if I can persuade *some Folks* to screen me, and the People should take it into their Heads to resent it, and call me to an Account, it is a *Democracy*; and whoever requires Justice of me, is

an Enemy to Monarchy. This is the plain *English* of his Argument; and to corroborate this, by an ingenious Piece of Sophistry, he makes all *Liberty* to consist in *Superfluity* and *Licentiousness*; and all *Prerogative* in the *absolute Power* and *despotick Will* of the Prince: In short, he here openly avows the Principle which hath all along actuated his base Measures, and shews the simple Foundation of his Political Structure; his Sentiments, however drest and disguis'd, when stript of their glossy Covering, appear plainly thus; While the Cottagers are kept poor, and upon a bare, hungry Subsistence, they will have neither *Time* nor *Abilities* to redress themselves, if some of the poor Dogs are obstinately inclined so to do; the *Lord of the Manor* may oppress Some, and bribe Others, (nay such a benevolent Love doth he bear to Mankind, that he doth not except any, but throwing aside in others, as he hath done in himself, all innate Honesty and Virtue, he very kindly supposes they would *all* be bribed) but, saith he, as they increase in Wealth, notwithstanding the Income of the Lord is augmented with theirs, they grow headstrong and unruly, the *Cottager* of 100 *l. per Annum* will struggle for his Liberties, which the *poor one* of 10 *l. per Annum* must yield up without repining; and then he lays down several Degrees, in which, as they increase in Substance, the Lord decreases proportionably in *Power*; yet notwithstanding the Rules here laid down, and allowing the Nation to be encreasing in *Superfluities*, as he stiles it, we have seen this very Man reverse the Doctrine he here advances, and grasp uninterrupted Power from the People for Twenty Years past. Upon the Whole, we can't help admiring his profound Skill in Figures, and I am less surprized that one of this way of thinking, should lay down such a shocking Proposition as I am informed
he

he once did, viz. *That every Man is to be bought, and the only Difficulty is to find out his Price.*

From this, with a full Sail of *seeming* Triumph, he drives into a Sea of his own Praises and his Administration, by pointing out the extravagant giving Temper of former Parliaments to *Charles II. &c.* who were *all Tories*, all profuse of the publick Money, only for this very Reason, because he is a *Whig*. He furnishes us with several Estimates, the Veracity of which, I will not take upon me to dispute; but I believe, could some Estimates be procured of the Gifts and Imposts of some later Reigns, we should not find them at all short of what this Gentleman hath produced; he best knows whether they are so or not, only one Thing I remark, that he is enabled better to find out where the Crown converted the publick Money to its own Use, than we can possibly be, upon the Account of that *new invented*, cursed Article of *f——t S——ce* Money.

After thus paying a Compliment to his own Management, at the Expence of all Others of the same kind, ever since the Restoration; and averring upon his bare *ipse Dixit*, that our Tendency at present, unless it be rightly moderated, lies much stronger to *Democracy* than *absolute Monarchy*, which, by the above-mentioned Estimates, he would convince us; I hope it will not be amiss, as I cannot answer him properly in regard to the present Revenues, to put him in mind of a favourite Argument which he has often made use of; that is, that the Crown, besides it's natural Power, receives an additional one from the *vast Debt* it contracts with the Subjects, who must support that Establishment, if they ever hope to be paid; this, however wild and chimerical it may seem, hath often been made use of by that Gentleman, as a cogent Argument for postponing the Payment of any Part of the National Debt. This, then, if we
argue

argue in his Manner, is such an Increase of *Ability* to the Crown, as no Monarch ever enjoyed before; and the free handling of a Fund designed, tho' seldom made use of for that Purpose, is a Benefit which no rapacious Minister, besides himself, was ever possessed of. I have here annexed an authentick and attested Account thereof, that may be seen by comparing it with any one of former Years, how much it hath been accumulated during his Administration; in all which Time, 'till very lately, we have had a profound Peace; but as this, Sir, will fall under your Enquiry, I hope no Pains will be spared to unravel the Mystery. Only one thing I must beg Leave to observe, that credible Report informs us, at the Time the *Secession* was made, the *E* — — — — — was stript quite bare, and by this Account there was upwards of 160,000 *l.* in it about a Month before, ——— a great deal of Money for one Month's Expences. ——— but this is above my Sphere, I therefore leave it to the proper Examiners.

I come now to the Result of this insinuating By-stander, which is as much as to say, all the Evils that were ever done to this Nation, were done by *Tories*; and, Gentlemen, I would not let you have the Spirit of *Party* die; there are *Tories* among ye ——— all are *Tories* who complain of the late Administration; tho' they don't so much as use the Word *Whig* Profusion, or *Whig* Misapplication, yet if they find fault with Corruption, or the *E* — — of *O* — — — — *d*, they are *Tories*, downright *rank Tories*, if they impeach him, they are entire *Enemies to Liberty* ——— But this he is not afraid of, the *Whigs* are step'd into the Breach, their *Excellent Temper* and *Manly Contempt* of dishonest Suggestions and Calumnies, has, in this Day, preserved us ——— 'tis on them *only* that the Nation relies for a *strict* and *honest* Enquiry ——— and they will undoubtedly make it with a *strict* Regard to the
publick

publick Good, and a *reasonable Candour* to the Person accused. This seems to imply a *Secret*, which we ought of all Things to dread, as if he was secure of a Triumph, from some of the Principals in the Opposition declining the Pursuit of Justice, and the late Conduct of a certain Honourable Gentleman in regard to *Septennial Parliaments*, seems to confirm our most horrid Conjectures: If so, we need not be at a Loss to know that we are still destin'd to *Slavery*, otherwise it is either begging a *Party* in your Enquirers, or seeming as if he were assured of some *secret* Friends there; for he makes no doubt but he shall be judged with *reasonable Candour*; but what he may think so, perhaps the Nation may not. This, Sir, has given us an Alarm, and to a People injured as we have been, the least Apprehensions of subsiding in the *glorious Struggle* you have begun, affects us in the *most sensible* Part: 'Tis therefore to quicken you in the arduous Task that I at present Address you: Ye are now the sole Guardians of our Liberties and Properties; the least Neglect may give Room to a sudden Surprise, and destroy the Great Design in its Growth; be vigilant, therefore, be cool and temperate, consider the Person you have to deal with. He hath for a *long Series of Years* been used to *Shifting* and *Evasion*; urge home then every Point, pursue him thro' *all his Doubles*, never leave him till *fairly acquitted* or *justly condemn'd*; the Nation demands it of you; satisfy then their Expectations; let not false Rumours spirit up Dissention amongst ye, *Union* and *Equanimity* must be the Guide of your Enquiry, as *Resolution* and *Inflexibility* are the main Springs. Remember that, tho' he should come to his Tryal under the Sanction of a Screen, 'tis your Business to discover ill Conduct, and lay it open to the World; if you connive at any Part thereof, you become Partakers of his Crimes, and are equally culpable with him; when Power is wrongly applied to
protect

protect the Guilty, *Passive Obedience* is *high Treason* to your *Country*: Atrocious Crimes can have no Plea for Mercy, and mistaken Clemency is the greatest Offence ye can be guilty of. The Jury that saves a Robber, after a plain Conviction, not only releases him by taking his Villanies upon themselves, but encrease the Weight of Sin by an additional Perjury to God, and Falsehood to Man: You, Sir, are One of our National Jury; this the last Stake for *British Liberty*; the only Method that can revive and confirm our ancient Constitution, or leave on us the indelible Trace of *Slavery* for ever; let not, therefore, Authority awe ye, partial Commiseration weaken your noble Resolves, or civil Feuds embarrass the Publick Good. In short, be *steady*, be *honest*, and *Fraud* and *Corruption* shall sink before ye, however highly protected or defended.

We have been told, upon this lucky Change, by the Writers who have been most strenuous in opposing the pernicious Schemes of this *great bad Man*, that the *Augean* Stable was not cleansed in a Day; tho' it was one of the Labours of *Hercules*, he was but one, but as we are blest with a Number, each of which we esteem upon this Occasion equal in Virtue to the ancient *Hercules*, 'tis reasonable to hope, by their joint Labours, the Task may be compleated in less than *thirty Years*, tho' I must own it must be a large *Alpbean* Torrent that can entirely wash away our Filth, which, if ye effect, notwithstanding ye meet the same *Princely* Reward of *Ingratitude*, as that Hero did from *one* Party, yet the *Hearts* of a relieved *People* will build ye *Monuments* of grateful *Praise* to late *Posterity*.

I am, Sir, &c.

A STATE of the NATIONAL DEBT, provided or unprovided for by Parliament, as it stood on the 31st of *December* 1740, and on the 31st of *December* 1741, together with an Account of the Produce of the Sinking Fund in that Year, and the Payment of what Debts contracted before the 25th Day of *December* 1716, the said Fund has been applied.

EXCHEQUER.	Amount of the National Debt on the 31st of <i>December</i> , 1740.			Encreas'd between the 31st of <i>Dec.</i> 1740, and 31st of <i>Dec.</i> 1741.	Paid off with- in that Time.	Amount of the Debt on the 31st of <i>December</i> 1741.		
	£.	s.	d.			£.	s.	d.
Annuities for long Terms, being the remainder of the original Sum; contributed and unsubscribed to the <i>South Sea</i> Company,	1836275	17	10 $\frac{3}{4}$			1836275	17	10
Annuities for Lives, with the Benefit of Survivor spending, being the original Sum contributed,	108100					108100		
Annuities for Two or Three Lives, being the Sum remaining after what is fallen in by Deaths,	109447	8	2 $\frac{3}{4}$		800	108647	8	2 $\frac{3}{4}$
Annuities at Nine <i>per Cent.</i> for short Terms,	161108	6	8			161108	6	8
Annuities on the Lottery, <i>Anno</i> 1710, for Ditto.	109290					109290		
Annuities on the Plate A& 6th <i>George</i> I. Regis.	312000					312000		
Annuities for <i>Nevis</i> and <i>St. Christophers</i> Debentures at Three <i>per Cent.</i> per Annum,	37821	5	1 $\frac{1}{4}$			37321	5	1 $\frac{1}{4}$
Annuities at Three and a Half <i>per Cent.</i> <i>Anno</i> 1731.	400000					400000		
Annuities at Three <i>per Cent.</i> <i>Anno</i> 1736, charg'd on the Sinking Fund,	600000					600000		
Annuities at Three <i>per Cent.</i> <i>Anno</i> 1738, charg'd on Ditto.	300000					300000		
Duties on Salt continued, <i>Anno</i> 1734.	84500				84500			
Ditto further continued, <i>Anno</i> 1735.	500000				102500	397500		
Ditto further continued, <i>Anno</i> 1741.	700000			1200000		1200000		
Exchequer Bills made out for Interest of old Bills exchang'd,	2200					2200		
Exchequer Bills on the Victuallers A&, <i>Anno</i> 1726,	481400					481400		
Exchequer Bills charged on the Duties on Sweets, <i>Anno</i> 1737,	499600					499600		
N. B. The Land Taxes, and the Duties on Salt, being Annual Grants, are not charg'd in this Account, nor the 1000000 <i>l.</i> charg'd on the Deduction of Six <i>per Cent.</i> paid on Pension, &c.								
<i>East India Company.</i>								
By Two Acts of Parliament 9th <i>William</i> III. Regis, and Two other Acts 6th and 9th <i>Annae</i> Reginae.	3200000					3200000		
<i>Bank of England.</i>								
On their original Fund at Six <i>per Cent.</i> per Annum.	1600000					1600000		
By cancelling Exchequer Bills, 3d <i>George</i> I. Regis.	500000					500000		
Purchased of the <i>South Sea</i> Company,	4000000					4000000		
Annuities at Four <i>per Cent.</i> charg'd on the Duties on Coals, &c. since <i>Lady day</i> 1739,	1750000					1750000		
Annuities charg'd on the Surplus of the Funds for Lottery 1714,	1250000					1250000		
Ditto at Three <i>per Cent.</i> for the Lottery <i>Anno</i> 1731,	800000					800000		
<i>South Sea Company.</i>								
On their Capital Stock and Annuities, 9th <i>George</i> I. Regis,	27302203	5	6 $\frac{1}{2}$			27302203	5	6 $\frac{1}{2}$
	53643946	3	5 $\frac{1}{2}$	12000000	187800	46983646	3	5 $\frac{1}{2}$

The EXCHEQUER is

DEBTOR.

Per Contra

CREDITOR.

To Cash on the
Sinking Fund,
on the 31st of
December 1740
To the Produce
of the Sinking Fund
between the 31st
Day of Dec. 1740,
and the 31st Day
of Dec. 1741, viz.
Surplus of the
General Fund.
Surplus of the
Aggregate Fund.
Surplus of the
South Sea Com-
pany Fund.

£. s. d.
361487 16 4 ½
704247 19 6 ¾
99802 11 3

£. s. d.
185635 8 1

1165538 7 2 ¼

1351173 15 3 ¼

By Money issued out between
the 31st of Dec. 1740, and
the 31st of December 1741
In full of 1200000 l. granted
for the Service of the Year
1740.
In full of 1000000 l. grant-
ed last Session of Parlia-
ment for the Service of the
Year 1741.
To pay the Annuities at Three
per Cent. on 600000 l. grant-
ed Anno 1736 for one Year,
due at Christmas 1741.
To the Usher of the Receipts
of the Exchequer for Ne-
cessaries delivered for the
Service of the said Year.
To pay the Annuities at Three
per Cent. on 300000 l. grant-
ed Anno 1738. for one
Year, due at Michaelmas
1741.
To the Bank of England, for
the Interest of 500000 l.
lent them on the Credit of
the Duties on Salt continu-
ed, Anno 1735; for Six
Months Interest, due the
Eighth of March 1740.
To the said Bank of England,
to make good the Premiums
or Rewards for circulating
Exchequer Bills, charged
on the Duty on Victuallers,
granted Anno 1726, be-
tween the 24th of July
1739, and Michaelmas 1741.
To the said Bank of England,
to make good the Premiums
or Rewards for circulating
Exchequer Bills, charged
on the Duty on Sweets,
granted Anno 1737, be-
tween the 24th of July
1739, and Michaelmas 1741.
To make good the Deficiency
of the Lottery Annuities,
Anno 1739; at Christmas
1740.
To pay the Interest of the
Loans, charged on the Du-
ties on Salt, further conti-
nued Anno 1741, for Six
Months, due the 5th of
September 1741.
To make good the Deficiency
of Annuities on the Plate
Act, to Lady Day 1741.

£. s. d.
69836 14 4 ¼

1000000

18000

42 13 1

9000

10000

19018 4 11

27850 1 2 ½

4048 14 7

21000

11984 13 2

1190781 1 4

160392 13 11 ¼

1351173 15 3 ¼

Ballance in Cash 31 Dec. 1741

Exchequer, 12th Mar. 1741.

Sign'd

JOHN DAWSON.